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NATIONAL REVIEW

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July 4, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Usurpation by Veto

SAMUEL J. KORNHAUSER

Who? Me?

Cartoons by JOHN D. KREUTTNER

Thomas Jefferson vs. Mao

RODNEY GILBERT

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . FRANK S. MEYER
THOMAS J. McINTOSH · J. B. MATTHEWS · DILLARD STOKES
L. BRENT BOZELL · A. H. HOBBS · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Waiting Once More

A majority of political writers and Republican politicians believe Mr. Eisenhower will accept the nomination if his convalescence is satisfactory and there are no further illnesses between now and the week of August 19. Even the most conservative "Taft Republicans" accept the premise that if Ike should retire at this late date, something approaching chaos would occur in the party. But until the President voices his decision, GOP leaders will keep their chins up and their fingers crossed.

Finish Fight

Rival Democratic chieftains, Gov. A. B. (Happy) Chandler and Senator Earle C. Clements, are battling it out for control of their party in Kentucky. The fight is similar but not analagous to the Johnson-Shivers contest in Texas. The Shivers machine was weakened by the fact that the Governor was nearing the end of his term and was not a candidate for office. Chandler was elected last fall and is very much in the saddle. At stake are Kentucky's thirty votes in the Democratic National Convention. Clements is regarded as a Stevenson man, while Chandler is a potential dark horse candidate. The Democratic internal conflict is the reason why Republicans think they may elect one and perhaps both Senators in November.

Merger Coming Up?

Senator Kefauver's managers insist that he has "as good a chance as anyone to get the Democratic Presidential nomination," but credible rumor persists that Kefauver is willing to accept second place on the ticket. Both Stevenson and Harriman are said to be "ready and willing" to consider the Senator as a running-mate. A merger of Stevenson-Kefauver delegates would almost certainly mean a first-ballot victory. If Kefauver and Harriman teamed up, they might win on a later ballot or let a dark horse in.

Democratic Weather

The outlook for grain crops and GOP candidates in the Midwest has been adversely affected by inclement weather. A cold spring, followed by an arid, scorching June have made the over-all crop prospects the poorest in eleven years. Wheat, corn, oats, barley and flax have all been hit. Government officials estimate the wheat crop at 923 million bushels, the smallest since 1943. Rain would still help. Republican politicos are praying for skies that are cloudy (and dripping) all day.

Cuts to Come

The Administration's committee victory on foreign aid may be short-lived. Only two members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations voted against the $4,502,000,000 authorization bill — Langer (R.) of North Dakota and Long (D.) of Louisiana. Most experienced observers, however, are convinced that the final figure will be near that approved by the House — $3,567,000,000. The bill must still run the gauntlet on the floor of the Senate and after that shoot the rapids of the Appropriations Committees of both Houses. Styles Bridges is the ranking Republican member of the Senate Committee, and Democratic Representative Otto E. Passman of Louisiana is chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee. Both legislators are against nonproductive giveaways.

More $ for Free Air

Republicans concede that an increase in Air Force appropriations, above Administration recommendations, is inevitable. But they hope for a compromise figure, much lower than the $1,160,000,000 raise approved by the Democratic-controlled Senate Appropriations Committee on a 13-12 vote. Coincidentally with the recommendation for the increase, Lieut. Gen. Donald Putt, Air Force Research chief, warned a Senate Armed Forces subcommittee that "dollars spent for a second best air force are a total waste. It is in fact national suicide."

Government Property

Rep. Clair Engle of California is the sponsor of a bill prohibiting the federal military establishment from taking over tracts of land larger than 5,000 acres without government approval. The reason: As of June 30, 1955, the federal government owned 21.4 per cent of all the land in the United States (valued at $32 billion). Of the total federal area, the Air Force has more than ten million acres, the Army more than seven million and the Navy more than four million.

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A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● A number of newspapers have dug up authoritative evidence of the seriousness of ileitis and—more significant for the American voter—the likelihood of a recurrence. Columnist Doris Fleeson of the Washington and New York *Posts* produced quotes from *Risk Appraisal,* an insurance underwriters' manual: "Slowly, progressively, the ailment [ileitis] becomes chronic, about ten per cent resulting in obstruction of various degrees. Short circuiting operations offer hope, but not much. Prognosis is dubious . . . Recurrence is distressingly high, one in three within two years." White House spokesmen insist recurrence of the disease is rare in men of President Eisenhower's age.

● In his farewell speech at Moscow, after his fortnight's Soviet visit, Marshal Tito declared: "Our friendship is based on common aims and mutual collaboration." He and Nikita Khrushchev, stressing their "common language and mutual understanding," pledged that "no power on earth is capable of dividing the Socialist countries." Marshal Tito then returned to Yugoslavia, to prepare for the visit of Prime Minister Nehru of India and Premier Nasser of Egypt, who will both arrive July 18 at his estate on the Adriatic island of Brioni. There the three will be able to discuss informally the plans decided on in Marshal Tito's discussions with Mr. Khrushchev.

● *A Correction.* NATIONAL REVIEW has several times used the figure of a billion dollars as the total of U.S. aid to Tito. A recent summary in *Time* gives it as $1,590,000,000 since 1951, exclusive of loans.

● In a recent address to a bankers' convention, Mr. Stassen opined that General Twining's trip to Moscow may create a "new openness" between the United States and Russia. That new openness, Mr. Stassen opined further, may eventually lead to Soviet acceptance of Mr. Eisenhower's inspection plan.

● Minnesota's ADA Senator Hubert H. Humphrey was so moved by "enthusiastic admiration" for Vice President Nixon's "remarkable address" at the Lafayette College Commencement that he had its entire text printed in the *Congressional Record.* Mr. Nixon advocated more exchange visits with citizens of Iron

Curtain countries, and advanced the thesis that "ideas are the weapons" in the "battle for men's minds."

● The elusive quality which differentiates Mr. Adlai Stevenson from other Presidential aspirants has finally been analyzed by a reader of the *New Republic,* Mrs. Geneva Finney of Idabel, Oklahoma. She recently wrote to the magazine's editor that she favors Mr. Stevenson because "I am convinced his views are . . . less political than all the others."

● Reuters, the British news agency that is not above taking its cues from Ten Downing Street, is engaged in a campaign of softening the U.S. up for recognition of Red China. Its most recent effort was a dispatch from Peiping that attempted to impress readers with the regime's budgetary stability. Not satisfied with this effect, the *New York Times,* displaying the dispatch on its front page, gave it the headline "Defense Cost Cut in Peiping Budget." This is what the following story actually told: 20 per cent of the total budget of $12.3 billion, or $2.46 billion, is earmarked for "defense." In 1955, it was 22 per cent of $10.5 billion, or $2.3 billion. In flat contradiction to its headline, the *Times* actually reported an *increase* of defense cost in the Peiping budget.

● A major objective of French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau's trip to Washington was to secure from the U.S. Government a relaxation of East-West trade embargoes, and particularly to ease restrictions on trade with Communist China. A few days before M. Pineau's arrival, newly appointed Chinese Nationalist Ambassador Hollington Tong had told of the forced labor that produces Red China's exportable goods. "By whatever name it may be called," said Dr. Tong, "trading with the Reds is trafficking in the fruits of slave labor."

● Israeli Premier David Ben-Gurion announced that his government would, in the future, pursue a "forceful foreign policy." Foreign Minister Moshe Sharrett—a temperate and temporizing member of the cabinet—was replaced by Mrs. Golda Myerson who is regarded as an unquestioning follower of the aggressive Prime Minister.

● On the morning of June 13, 1956, Great Britain sealed her abdication as *the* Middle Eastern power: the last British occupier of Egyptian soil boarded a landing craft at Port Said. When Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser raised the Egyptian flag over the deserted British base, five days later, a formation of Soviet-built MIGs flew overhead.

● When South Vietnam Premier Ngo Dinh Diem refused to hold all-Vietnam elections this year on the grounds that to do so would be to turn the country over to the Communists, North Vietnam protested; and immediately three signatories of the Geneva armistice, Soviet Russia, Great Britain and France, put pressure on Mr. Diem to abide by the treaty he never signed. Now, the U.S. State Department has formally charged Communist North Vietnam with "blatant violation" of the armistice. The Department charges North Vietnam with violating the armistice by increasing its army from seven to twenty divisions, and by importing "voluminous quantities of arms . . . and streams of Communist Chinese military personnel" to build up its military strength. So far the United States is alone among the big powers in protesting the Communist treaty violations.

● In Eastern Europe, flushed with the political wine of the anti-Stalin campaign, a number of Stalinists have recently been murdered. It is not unlikely that in the near future some of Stalin's henchmen will "choose freedom" and seek asylum in the United States. In deciding how to greet them the West will confront an unusually delicate problem in protocol.

● London's *Time and Tide* carries this fascinating bit of information: "Now that the 'cruel ways' of Stalin have been abandoned we hope that Mrs. Khrushchev will be released from Siberia. She was arrested and deported in 1938 by Stalin while Mr. Khrushchev himself was carrying out a mass purge in the Ukraine."

● The United Mine Workers and certain capital interests in the soft coal industry have formed a new enterprise, American Coal Shipping, Inc. The fifty million dollar corporation intends to solve the problem of the staggering costs of shipping coal abroad, because its directors are convinced that Western Europe's future energy requirements will mean an expanding market for American coal. When the plan was first discussed, four years ago, Mr. John L. Lewis, president of the UMW, had assumed that the federal government would have to help out.

● The nine-hour strike which, on the hottest day in the year, held up without warning 750,000 New York subway riders, was a skirmish between two feuding unions. This time Mayor Wagner, who never crosses picket lines, has promised to discipline the strikers.

● School children are here and there complaining that they can no longer eat the bread served in school cafeterias. It is too thickly covered with butter which the government, from its surplus stocks, is lavishing upon the schools in quantities too great for the schools' refrigerators, or for children's stomachs, to handle.

Situations of Weakness

General Curtis LeMay's testimony that we are in the process of losing strategic air superiority has been followed by disclosures that in several significant fields we have already achieved military incapacity.

In Korea, for example, we have scrupulously obeyed the terms of the armistice, which forbade any net addition to troops or any upgrading of weapons. The Communists have consistently violated them, and now have in North Korea hundreds of new jet planes and new models of tanks, guns, etc., including artillery able to handle nuclear shells. The protests of our local commanders, backed by the Pentagon, at our having been reduced to inferiority in the Korean theater have gone unheeded at the White House.

General Otto Weyland, chief of the Tactical Air Command, has told a congressional committee that because he has not been supplied with jet powered air tankers, he cannot move his tactical aircraft quickly over long distances. If we lose the Iceland base at Keflavik, it will be difficult, perhaps impossible, for him to shift sizeable units across the Atlantic to meet an emergency.

Except for vague references to "the over-all picture" at a Presidential news conference, the spokesmen for the Administration have made no direct reply to the alarming evidence offered by our military leaders. The only explanation for this calm in the face of a collapsing military posture would seem to be an unbreachable trust in President Franklin Eisenhower's ability to win Comrade Joseph Khrushchev over to the paths of peace.

Earl Warren: Ideologue

In 1952, Governor Earl Warren was known to the public as a handsome politician, successful as an administrator and fabulous as a vote-getter. No one was quite sure what his "ideas" were, or whether he had any.

At the Republican Convention, Governor Warren threw California's votes to General Eisenhower. There was no surprise when the President, in 1953, nominated him as Chief Justice, though a few persons were disturbed by his lack of judicial experience.

Their doubts have been justified. Seldom in our history has there been a series of Supreme Court decisions on so low a level of jurisprudence as those turned out during its past two terms.

It had been assumed that Mr. Warren, as a "practical politician," would work to mitigate sharp differences among his colleagues on the Court, to reduce the number of close decisions, to promote "teamwork" in relations with the other departments of government, and to avoid rulings tending to inflame public opinion.

In sharp contrast, the record reveals Chief Justice Warren as a dogmatic ideologue, imposing a rigid system of ideas on the issues brought before him. Most of the important decisions of the 1955 term have been 5-4 or 6-3. Invariably, whether part of the majority or the minority, the Chief Justice has stood with Justices Douglas and Black.

These three judicial horsemen of the Liberal apocalypse—whether in the majority of a Steve Nelson or the minority of a Kohler decision—are always on the side of the central government as against the states. Always, as in the Union Pacific and the Kohler decisions, they favor the rights of unions as against

the rights of individuals. Nearly always, as in the Slochower and Cole and Communist registration and Steve Nelson cases, or in their dissent from the Cutter Laboratories decision, they uphold privilege for Communists against claims of national security.

Like all ideologues, they are not scrupulous about "forms." They are as ready to rewrite the history of the Fourteenth Amendment as to declare that Congress meant the opposite of what Congress said it meant. They make hardly a pretense in their use of the Court as a political weapon in fighting for statist political goals.

Even though these three are sometimes in the

minority, their continuous ideological pressure keeps the Court moving, on balance, in their direction. That is why their ideological similars in private life, who before 1937 were the Court's most bitter critics, now support a doctrine of judicial supremacy more extreme than has ever before been advanced in this country.

There is, however, not the slightest reason in our Constitution or our history why we must accept the Supreme Court's word as beyond challenge. Ours is a government of diffused sovereignty, of reciprocal checks and balances. It is the right and duty of Congress, the President, the states and the voters to correct the Court when it departs from its proper role.

"The assumption that respect for the judiciary can be won by shielding judges from published criticism wrongly appraises the character of American public opinion. For it is a prized American privilege to speak one's mind, although not always with perfect good taste, on all public institutions. And an enforced silence, however limited, solely in the name of preserving the dignity of the bench, would probably engender resentment, suspicion, and contempt much more than it would enhance respect." (From the opinion of the Supreme Court in *Bridges v. California,* 314 U.S. 252.)

How to Win

The *Progressive* magazine has invited our old friend Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., chairman of the ADA and chief paymaster to anti-McCarthy confidence men, to identify the positions a Presidential candidate must take if he is to win "the independent vote."

The "independent," Mr. Rauh informs us, is deeply concerned with "the quality of freedom," and will therefore insist that the President's "greatest domestic responsibility" lies in enforcing the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. The South having been disposed of, the President must turn his attention to federal security practices; he must "discard once and for all the sullen mask of fear, the distorted grimace of self-hatred we have so often displayed of late." "We have with us still," Mr. Rauh, employer of a very prominent, and sometime faceless, informer and professional blacklister, reminds us, "We have with us still the faceless informer, the private wiretapper, and the professional blacklister"; and these, in that they are employed by the FBI rather than by the ADA or the *Washington Post,* are of the objectionable variety.

One thing more: if President Eisenhower wins in November, along with a Republican Senate, can he be trusted to "use his powers as party leader to deny the chairmanship of the Investigation Subcommittee to Senator McCarthy? [Read: abuse his powers as chief executive by interfering with the processes of the Legislature.]"

Can Republicans be counted on, Mr. Rauh is really saying, to do what the Liberals want them to do?

That is a question that certainly concerns all of us.

Boys Will Be Boys

When Jules Abels' book, *The Truman Scandals,* appeared this spring, the outraged wails of the Liberal reviewers resounded over the land: "scurrilous . . . mere campaign pamphlet . . . hearsay . . . smear . . ."

The eight men and four women who composed a St. Louis jury apparently did not read these reviews. Rather, they listened carefully to a month of evidence, and returned a verdict of guilty against Matthew J. Connelly and T. Lamar Caudle on charges of tax fixing.

At the time of the fix, Mr. Connelly was an adviser and appointment secretary to President Harry S. Truman. Mr. Caudle was, also by Mr. Truman's choice, an assistant attorney general charged with the prosecution of tax cases.

Mr. Truman, who happened to be in Holland when the verdict came in, declined to comment. Nor have we heard a word on Messrs. Connelly and Caudle from Adlai Stevenson, Estes Kefauver, Averell Harriman or that Missouri dark horse, Stuart Symington.

It Can Be Done

For twelve years Representative Ralph Gwinn of New York's 27th District, has been a pain in Liberal necks. An anti-Gwinn campaign was planned by unemployed New Dealers. A personable young man—Christian Armbruster—was put up. One hundred thousand dollars worth of his praises were sung to the voters.

Mr. Gwinn, though loyally supported, was in serious danger. A Republican voter alerted an organization with a modest past but promising future: United Americans Against Communism. Through a newly organized local committee, headed by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Vogeler and Joseph A. Cannon, Jr., UAAC got into rapid action. In one main operation they telephoned over 5,000 enrolled Republicans to urge their presence at the polls.

The ending is happy, as we reported in our last issue. Mr. Gwinn won renomination by 1,613 votes. The Liberal coup, aimed to capture the local Party apparatus by taking advantage of the usual primary apathy, was blocked.

One Congressional District does not make a congressional majority. But there is no patent on the methods that succeeded in New York's 27th.

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Why Mr. Rovere Likes Ike

When he wants to be, Mr. Richard Rovere is an excellent reporter. Excepting a couple of outrageously impressionistic pieces on the subject of Senator McCarthy, a good reporter is what Mr. Rovere wanted to be when he wrote the articles that now make up his latest book, *The Eisenhower Years.*

The over-all result is a fast-moving, funny and—given Mr. Rovere's built-in Liberal antenna—faithful recording of the major political events of the Eisenhower years. But the achievement would not have entitled Mr. R., poor fellow, to a spot in this column were it not for a little essay at the end of the chronicle which he has called "Trial Balances," but which he could have called "President Eisenhower: *The* Liberal Judgment," and got away with it.

The essay sums up the reasons why the more knowing cogs in the Liberal Machine are not going to fight very hard against Mr. Eisenhower this year. And since those reasons afford some fairly profitable insights into where we've been during the Eisenhower years, and where we are likely to end up after four more of them. Mr. Rovere gets not only this week's column but also next week's.

"Trial Balances" does much to restore our faith in the Horatio Alger aspects of American politics by proving that any boy, even a Republican boy, can grow up to be a President the Liberal Machine approves of. The thesis is a bold one, and proving it requires that some evidence be laid on the table concerning the nature of the subject's political boyhood.

This is supplied in Mr. Rovere's first chapter, written under the dateline, May 1950. So let us turn back, briefly, to Mr. Rovere's earlier judgment on General Eisenhower's qualifications for the Presidency:

> Ordinarily, a candidate, or a candidate for candidacy, is offered to the voters in three parts: personality, record and program. . . . In Eisenhower's case, only his personality can be discussed with any real assurance. His record is mostly irrelevant, and he has no program. . . . In 1948, no one knew whether he was a Democrat or a Republican. . . . No one knew whether *he* knew what he was. . . . A cynical but unstated assumption of the first boom was that the General would adopt whatever kind of politics paid off best; that if he were interested in running at all, he would run with the hounds, once he learned who the hounds were.

By 1950, it was increasingly clear who the hounds were; but the fact that General Eisenhower had unofficially signed up with the GOP was not yet conclusive evidence, as Mr. Rovere saw it, that he was ready for the White House. In a word:

> None of the people who have supported him as a presidential candidate has ever given acceptable evidence that the man is suited for the job or that he could develop the gifts the job requires.

So much for the boyhood. When the time comes (December 1955) to write "Trial Balances," Mr. Rovere has seen enough of Mr. Eisenhower's performance to decide that he *is* suited for the job after all. Curiously, however, Mr. Rovere does not feel constrained in his later estimate to revise the earlier one. On the contrary:

> On domestic questions, such views as [Eisenhower] holds, he holds lightly—lightly enough to change and turn about when there is any gain in so doing. Look at the record. He has spoken disparagingly of the whole idea of social security, he has opposed federal aid to education . . . he has described the Tennessee Valley Authority as "creeping socialism" [etc., etc.] . . . But every point has its counterpoint. He has, in practice, favored broad extensions of social security and endorsed the principle of federal aid to education [etc., etc.] . . . Where there has been nothing to lose by standing on conservative principle, he has stood. But he has bent before the wind—before, indeed, the gentlest of breezes. . . . Eisenhower has no particular view of American life; he has a not very powerful yearning and a quite formidable indifference; and it is the indifference that is characteristic.

Mr. Rovere attributes part of Mr. Eisenhower's indifference in the domestic area to ideological neutralism, part to laziness:

> . . . the record is clear that no president since Calvin Coolidge, who was a devotee of the afternoon snooze, has relaxed more or taxed his energies less than Eisenhower. It is possible only to conclude that the President finds the day-to-day problems of government tedious and fatiguing. He at no time made much of an effort to keep up with them.

Mr. Rovere makes it clear, however, that neither Mr. Eisenhower's neutralism nor his work-habits should make Liberals turn their backs on him. And this for the excellent reason that the Eisenhower Administration "has left the country almost exactly as it found it, with nothing added and nothing taken away. . . ."

Which is, of course, more than a passing grade. This is a period in American history when Liberals can hope only to hold their gains and consolidate them. If there is to be any "forward" movement, it will be by inches instead of country miles; and the main thing is not to go backward.

Come to think of it, the last four years of the Truman Administration also had "almost nothing to show" by way of an impact on the nation's institutions. Harry Truman and his lieutenants stridently plugged out-and-out socialist measures (the Brannan Plan, the Spence Bill, nationalization of the steel industry, to name a few) but nothing came of them. As between an ineffectual demogogue and an indulgent lord of the manor, there is little for Liberal pragmatists to choose. The differences between Truman and Eisenhower lie, as Mr. Rovere suggests, in the realm of esthetics.

Still and all, two American institutions have had things happen to them that probably would not have happened—not right now, anyway—save for the impact of the Eisenhower Administration. One such institution is the sovereign American states which have finally, with the help of a few nudges by the Supreme Court, tumbled over the ledge. Since the Court is not in the habit of going beyond what is politically palatable, history will probably opine that the elimination of the states was made possible,

(*Continued on p. 21*)

Usurpation by Veto

Improper use of the veto power threatens to become an instrument of Executive tyranny, says an authority on constitutional law

SAMUEL J. KORNHAUSER

The two recent vetoes interposed by President Eisenhower squashed acts passed by Congress after protracted investigation and debate.

The alleged reasons for annulling the remedial natural gas bill were manifestly irrelevant and illogical. Those advanced to justify negation of the farm bill appear to be founded on the heretical theory that the Constitution confers a right (indeed, imposes a duty) on the President to thwart the considered action of Congress whenever, in his opinion, the legislation would prove disadvantageous or detrimental.

The spurious "liberals," who in our day have engrafted so many malign theories on our institutions, hold in contempt the processes of representative government. They believe that the legislative assembly, chosen by popular vote, is an inept and ineffective device. They are bent on centralizing power in an Executive so enlarged that it shall control, not only administration, but all policy and law-making. They would have Congress become the docile registrar of the determinations reached by the President and the elite at his elbow.

But the Constitution did not create a Benevolent Patriarch, nor a Lord Protector, to govern the land and shield its citizens against themselves. The President is a chief magistrate, limited to the functions which fall within the contemplated purview of that office. It is true that the wheels of our governmental machinery grind slowly; that they often appear clumsy; and that they excite impatience and irritation. But they were deliberately designed to grind slowly, so that the inherent safeguards of personal liberty should endure.

All but a few pages of the Constitution are devoted to the legislative department which is made the core of the organism. Anything which tends to abridge or to weaken its faculties, strikes at the heart of the system. And the so-called Presidential veto power, desirable when confined to its intended sphere, can be forged into a potent instrument to reduce (perhaps ultimately to extinguish) the essential functions of Congress.

What, then, was the true purpose of this appliance? The word, "veto," does not occur in the Constitution; nor does any language which, by any twist, implies that the President is given leave to stifle legislation by an arbitrary stroke of his pen. By withholding approval of a bill, he may call for a reconsideration, on which a two-thirds vote is required for repassage. At the time of its adoption, this provision seemed to be a practical, precautionary measure. It was designed for use, conditionally, in cases of extraordinary contingencies. It was not intended to serve as an insurmountable barrier to attainment of legitimate congressional objectives.

There were then no political parties, as we know them, and their development was not foreseen. Today, however, with party expediency exercising an important influence, and with party representation so nearly balanced, a two-thirds vote can rarely be mustered to override a veto. The privilege of requiring a tentative suspension of a bill has, in effect, become a positive power of interdiction.

Growth of this alien authority — to exact congressional obedience to White House demands by veto, or threat of veto — has come to be regarded as normal procedure. But it ought to be cause for grave concern to all citizens who would preserve our constitutional defenses against arbitrary government. How far we have departed from the concepts of the Founders is readily seen if we turn to the views expressed by men less remote from 1787.

On this, as on so many questions, we have a conclusive statement of the pertinent considerations from the most penetrating intellect of his time, Alexander Hamilton, in his contributions to the *Federalist Papers*. After tracing the decline, and practical extinction, of the British monarch's veto prerogative, he points out that the short-term President, under the limitations in our proposed government, "wholly and purely republican," would resort to the veto only in the most extreme cases. The chief reason, he declares, for creating this capacity is the propensity of legislatures "to intrude upon the rights and absorb the powers, of the other departments"; and hence the necessity, in order to preserve the balance, of furnishing the Executive "with means of defense against enroachments" on his allotted domain.

Hamilton sums up his analysis in this significant sentence: "The primary inducement to conferring the power in question upon the Executive is to enable him to defend himself; the secondary one is to increase the chances in favor of the community against the passage of bad laws, through haste, inadvertence, or design." But twice the Convention voted down proposals to create authority to reject bills passed by Congress on the ground that the legislation was deemed *unwise* or *inexpedient*.

The sparing use of the veto by our early Presidents is evidence of their respect for the understood range of the power. Here are the early veto statistics: Washington, 2; Madison, 6; Monroe, 1; Jackson, 9; Tyler, 8; Polk, 3; Pierce, 9; Buchanan, 7; Lincoln, 3. There were none by John Adams, Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, Harrison, Taylor and Fillmore. But since the Civil War, the instances of these Presidential interventions have mounted till, during the Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, they reached the huge number of 631 — and the full fruition of this misbe-

gotten means of beating Congress into slavish submission. Still fresh in mind, too, are the 250 Truman vetoes, most of them so obviously invoked to promote party advantage. And even Mr. Eisenhower, with all his professions of respect for the constituted sphere of Congress, has so resorted to the veto 54 times. His last two vetoes seem quite conclusively to indicate that he looks upon himself as the designated savior of a people incapable of choosing competent and conscientious representatives.

A Modern Example

Measure the natural gas bill veto against the standards summarized by Hamilton. The object of that bill was to restore the intent of Congress manifested in a prior law, which the Supreme Court had obliterated (by a misapplication of the judicial function), thereby enlarging further the grossly expanded powers of the federal domain over that of the states.

The President is enjoined by the Constitution to register his "objections" when he disapproves legislation presented by Congress. In this instance not only did he voice no "objections" to the terms of the bill, as a reason for his veto; he actually set forth cogent reasons why such a law is *needed*. He blocked the salutary legislation because of a wholly extraneous circumstance — the alleged impropriety of lobbyists.

There was no trace of corruption disclosed. There was no intimation that there had been a bribe, or an attempt to bribe. Moreover, to use the President's own words, "only a very small segment of a great and vital industry" was responsible for an attempted donation to a Senator's electioneering funds. Simply because this isolated contribution had not been delivered with the finesse required "by acceptable standards of propriety," Mr. Eisenhower felt in duty bound to nullify a *good bill*.

No less hard to take is the reason Mr. Eisenhower gives for his stop-order: the fear that, if he allowed the bill to become a law, there would arise "doubt among the American people concerning the integrity of our governmental processes." This, because of an unconditioned gift of $2,500 to a Senator's campaign fund!

I dwell on this case, not because loss of the natural gas bill is a national calamity, but because it exposes conspicuously the extent to which the father-knows-best concept of the Presidency prevails.

In the veto of the farm bill, we have another aspect of this same shepherd-and-flock philosophy. The President called it a "bad bill"; and he had ample grounds for this appraisal. But he demanded passage of his own farm bill — which likewise was a "bad bill." Both, by different appliances, were designed to put money, taken from the public treasury, into the pockets of farmers. Both guaranteed maintenance of the incomes of persons engaged in one particular occupation. Both were calculated to divert and frustrate the normal economic currents which supply correctives, and impart vigor, to the industrial and commercial life of the nation.

The farm bill was not vetoed because it was passed in haste, through inadvertence, or with evil design. It had been long considered, and widely discussed. It reestablished a system of subsidies which had been in use for many years. It was passed by a Congress in which the entire House and one third of the Senate represented the latest expression of popular opinion at the polls. It was not vetoed on the ground that it contravened any provision of the Constitution. It was vetoed solely because the considered judgment of a majority of the people's representatives was at variance with the conclusions of one man.

If we would "secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity," there must be a renewed allegiance to the concepts which actuated the Founders. They designed a system of practical representative government, capable of insuring the greatest measure of attainable natural liberty for a people sufficiently alert to keep its essential components uncorroded.

Our best defense against the entrenchment of government by one man, bound to become tyranny, is restoration of the position of Congress. And one of the means to that end is re-establishment of the principle that (except in extreme cases which leave no room for reasonable doubt) the President shall not interfere with the right of Congress to make, or unmake, our laws. We must cease to look upon the President as a fountainhead of superior virtues.

President Polk, in his 1848 message to Congress, discussing the veto power, put the matter tersely and definitively: "With the motives or considerations which may induce Congress to pass any bill, the President can have nothing to do. He must presume them to be as pure as his own."

Portrait of Edward O. Lamb

J. B. MATTHEWS

A specialist in Communist fronts analyzes the record of the man who would be kingmaker to Estes Kefauver

The case of Edward O. Lamb has acquired added significance for the American public by virtue of the fact that Lamb is now in the business of kingmaking. If, by some electoral wizardry, Estes Kefauver should land a top job in the Executive, Edward Oliver Lamb of Toledo will be sitting pretty. For Kefauver is Lamb's baby —and vice versa.

Lamb has declared that he is doing his "damnedest" to put Kefauver in the White House. By "damnedest," he can hardly mean less than putting the resources of his newspapers, radio and television stations, and money, behind Kefauver's candidacy. Lamb's financial empire, built up from scratch in the past twenty years, is estimated as worth some ten million dollars.

On his side, Kefauver has reciprocated Lamb's kindnesses. Last year, when the nomination of George C. McConnaughey as Federal Communications Commissioner came up before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Kefauver (although not a member of the committee) appeared before it—as an ardent advocate for Lamb, who was in trouble with the FCC. In the history of Senate committee hearings there

have been few instances when a witness was badgered with greater disregard for fair or relevant interrogation. Kefauver's two-hour interrogation of McConnaughey was obviously an act staged by a Presidential aspirant, for the benefit of his patron.

Kefauver intended to intimidate an FCC commissioner who, with his colleagues, must in due course decide whether to grant or reject Lamb's application for a renewal of the license for his Erie TV station, WICU.

Pro-Communist Involvement

When Edward O. Lamb first applied to the FCC, a little more than three years ago, he was asked questions about past affiliations which proved embarrassing. (The FCC is charged with the responsibility of issuing licenses only to men of demonstrated moral and political sanity.) Investigators dug deep and came up with a long record of intimate and extensive involvement in pro-Communist activities and enterprises.

Lamb's answers at the time—and his answers today—vary from outright denial, evasion and vagueness, to belligerent countercharges of "frameup," leveled at his business competitors. (Shortly after Lamb ran into the FCC's reservations about his fitness, he took a former U.S. Attorney General, J. Howard McGrath, into his financial empire as general counsel and executive vice president of Edward Lamb Enterprises. McGrath now heads a small circle of political advisors to Estes Kefauver. Lamb has also given a staff member of his Erie newspaper a leave of absence, enabling him to accompany Kefauver to the hustings.)

After extensive hearings in 1954 and 1955, FCC Hearing Examiner Herbert Sharfman issued an "initial decision" granting Lamb the renewal of his Erie license. Sharfman's 140-page "findings of fact and conclusions" are heavy with bias in favor of the applicant.

A single example will have to suffice.

In 1934, after a trip to the Soviet Union, Lamb wrote and published a book called *The Planned Economy in Soviet Russia*. Any disinterested reader of this book must conclude that Lamb was advocating the adoption of a planned economy in the United States patterned after that of the Soviet Union. With respect to the United States, Lamb wrote: "Those who produce, the workers and farmers, and those who defend, i.e., the militiamen, through joint action and organization, shortly must assume title to the means of production." Lenin never said it more clearly.

Sharfman dismissed the book by characterizing it as "exasperatingly diffuse, pedestrian, in parts carelessly written, and in its vital section, the Conclusion, particularly ambiguous, and even, it may be, disingenuously and deliberately so."

Edward Lamb is an expertly trained lawyer—and a slippery and infuriating witness. For every allusion to his

Edward O. Lamb

involvement with Communists or pro-Communists, he has a bland explanation. He has spoken before Communist groups because, "as a politician," he speaks before just about everyone. He cannot remember writing for any specifically Communist periodicals, because he has written so very much, for so many different magazines. He may have belonged to individual Communist fronts—because they were, at the time he joined them, progressive and democratic; and in some cases he didn't belong to a particular organization at all—the record to the contrary notwithstanding.

Some of his denials may get Edward Lamb into trouble. For example. Lamb told the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, on June 23, 1954, that he had resigned from the National Lawyers Guild on November 6, 1945—because the Guild had "got to discussing and arguing about international questions, relief to Spain, [and] . . . all these other things." (At that, he would have resigned five years after Adolf Berle and Robert Jackson quit the Guild in public protest over its thralldom to the Communists.) The Committee, however, neglected to question him as to why, if he had indeed resigned in 1945, he continued, as late as 1952, to list himself as a member of the Guild in *Who's Who*. (*Who's Who* sends out biographical sketches before every new edition, for corrections.)

The Printed Record

It remains to be remarked that Lamb's tergiversations, bright or crude, cannot wipe away the record. His involvement is too deep. He has, for instance, contributed writings to the *Sunday Worker*, *China Today*, and *Soviet Russia Today*. He has served as chairman of the Toledo branch of the American League Against War and Fascism, as national vice chairman of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, as a member of the national executive committee of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and as a member of the legal advisory committee of the International Labor Defense. He has sent anniversary greetings to the *Daily Worker*, and he participated as a speaker and as a financial contributor at the dedication of Toledo's Communist headquarters in September 1944.

In reply to the "initial decision" filed by Examiner Sharfman, which served the purpose of more or less whitewashing Lamb, the Broadcast Bureau (the FCC's legal department) has entered a devastating and blunt rebuttal, which is now before the Commission. The Bureau found Lamb "not forthright," charged him with a "lack of candor," "vagueness," and "intransigence." It found him also, in an instance or two, "clearly guilty of deliberate misrepresentation."

Edward Lamb may have his way with the Federal Communications Commission and wind up with his television station. It is a matter of more pressing public concern whether he will succeed in emerging as a policy-making figure in the government of the United States.

Letter From Paris

THOMAS J. McINTOSH

L'Affaire Rosenberg

Although the Rosenbergs have been gone now for almost three years, their cause continues to command the energetic devotion of Frenchmen. Even today, their death house correspondence enthralls critics, the appalling tale of their "ritual murder" spreads *angoisse* among intellectuals, and their orphaned sons are, after Minou Drouet, the miniature miracle poetess, just about the most adored children in all France.

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the latest campaign for posthumous rehabilitation of the Rosenbergs, launched in England by Bertrand Russell, should have spread to Paris. *Le Monde* got into the act not long ago with an indignant article by one of its certified Americanophobes, M. Claude Julien.

The article was a straight reign-of-terror piece, and bore the significant title "Was Morton Sobell Guilty?" Julien's answer to this sticker, a resounding negative, indicates a new tactical departure for Frenchmen pleading the revisionist cause in *l'Affaire Rosenberg*: The aim will now be to prove, not that the Rosenbergs and Sobell were innocent (that is taken for granted in France), but that they would easily have won acquittal had they not been tried in an "atmosphere of hysteria."

The hysteria motif is one of sovereign utility, since it can be applied indiscriminately to judges, prosecutors, public opinion and — best of all — to the defendants themselves. Julien, for example, explains Comrade Sobell's maladroit pre-trial behavior in terms of the "panic which terrorized innumerable Americans of more or less liberal disposition" during the anxious days of the early nineteen-fifties. What if Sobell did hole up in Mexico City? What if he did adopt a disguise? What if he did use pseudonyms in corresponding with his friends? Was not this perfectly understandable conduct on the part of a hypersensitive individual who had been a Communist "in his youth" and who now saw his beloved country falling into the hands of wicked inquisitors?

The Juliens and the Russells are firing their broadsides these days with an unusual amount of self-assurance. Clearly, they are emboldened by the news from America. As Julien puts it, we have come a long way since 1951, when "M. MacCarthy [sic] was at the apogee of his glory. . . . In the political climate of America today, the Rosenberg-Sobell trial would seem quite unlikely."

The Foreign Nationalists

Since hard fighting began in North Africa a few months ago, the desertion rate among French troops there has shown an alarming rise. While most of the cases reported are no doubt of the "English leave" variety, there were several instances of outright treason during April, where men on duty (among them an officer candidate) turned themselves and their equipment over to the rebels.

In most of these cases the individuals concerned have been Communists. At first sight, this might seem to make the problem relatively simple for the French authorities. In reality, however, there is little the Mollet government or any French government of similar complexion can do.

When 25 to 30 per cent of an ostensibly anti-Communist army consists of Communists and fellow travelers, there is no escaping the fact that such an army is practically beyond disciplinary repair; that it is, indeed, a hopelessly crippled instrument of state power. The (as yet) isolated acts of betrayal in North Africa are only a taste of what will happen when general war comes.

In the meantime, however, they afford a decisive rebuttal to the quasi-official American view—trotted out after every French election — that Frenchmen who cast their votes for Communism are really only disgruntled patriots, impatient for domestic reforms. The news from North Africa would seem to indicate that Léon Blum was right, for once in his life, when he described French Communists as members of a "foreign nationalist party."

The Bourgeois Reader

In the Parisian literary world the most exciting event of recent weeks has been François Mauriac's somewhat belated discovery of Trotsky. Writing in *Le Figaro Littéraire*, the laureate explains how, puzzled by abrupt changes in Soviet orthodoxy, he turned to Trotsky's autobiography in the hope of unearthing there some elements of clarification.

The experience was rewarding. Mauriac found in the martyred prophet a disarming array of virtues, both public and private. "In Trotsky," he reports, "there is an evident quality of seduction. The bourgeois reader is always surprised to learn that the revolutionary is much like other men. From the very first pages of this book I was captivated, just as I had earlier been charmed by the works of Tolstoy and Gorky."

Mauriac must, indeed, have been captivated. He is frankly impatient, at any rate, with those who would dwell upon Trotsky's role as apologist for the Red Terror and father of forced labor. Trotsky ("this Trotsky, whose hard exterior serves only to conceal his inner humanity") "rejects from the outset our bourgeois indignation. In his eyes we are far more bloodthirsty than any terrorist." For who are we, after all, but the "organizers and exploiters of a global-scale butcher shop"? Mauriac quotes with relish Trotsky's stylized indictment of the propertied class, then declares triumphantly that "every last word of his hits the nail right on the head."

Even Mauriac will admit, however, that Trotsky had one irremediable fault: he was unlucky. In his man-eat-man struggle with the "repulsive" Stalin, he came out second best. Alas, "those qualities which make Trotsky seem to us almost fraternal are the very traits which weakened him and brought about his ultimate ruin."

The "bourgeois reader," however he may be surprised in reading Trotsky, will not be surprised to learn, in reading M. Mauriac, that today's French intellectuals are pushovers for old-fashioned Marxian oratory.

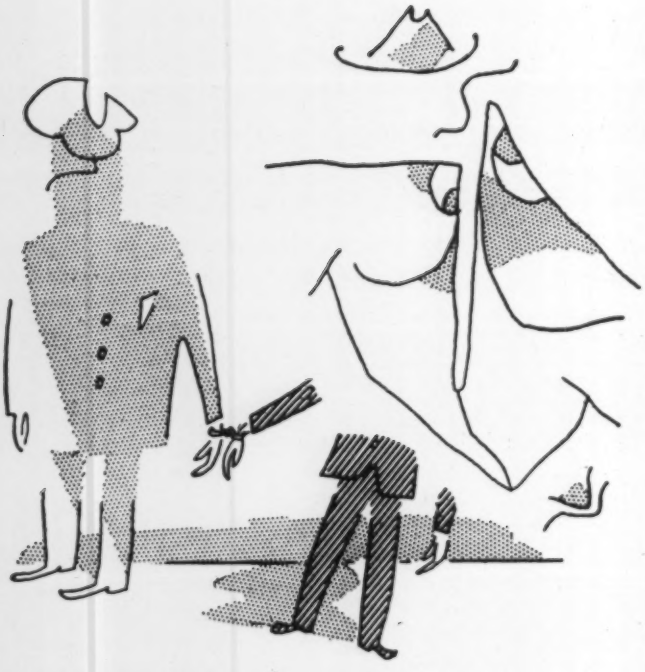
If you can't ignore it, belittle it. If you can't cover it up, whitewash it. If you can't whitewash it, deplore the "methods" of those who expose it.

Standard Operating Procedure
(Fellow Travelers, Dupes and Liberals, U.S.A.)

Who? Me?

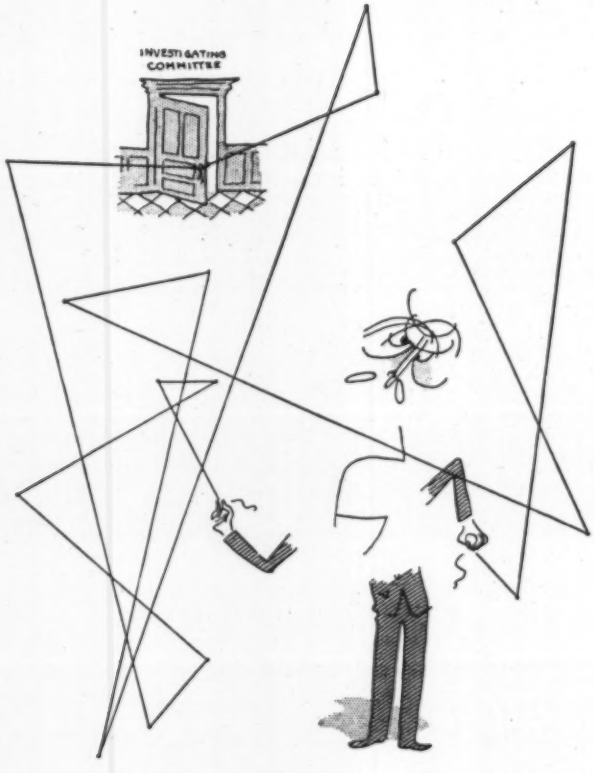
Cartoons and captions by

JOHN D. KREUTTNER



"Didn't you ever make a mistake as a boy? After all, I'm only fifty."

"It's better for 160 million people to be blown off the earth than for one idiot to be removed from a sensitive position."



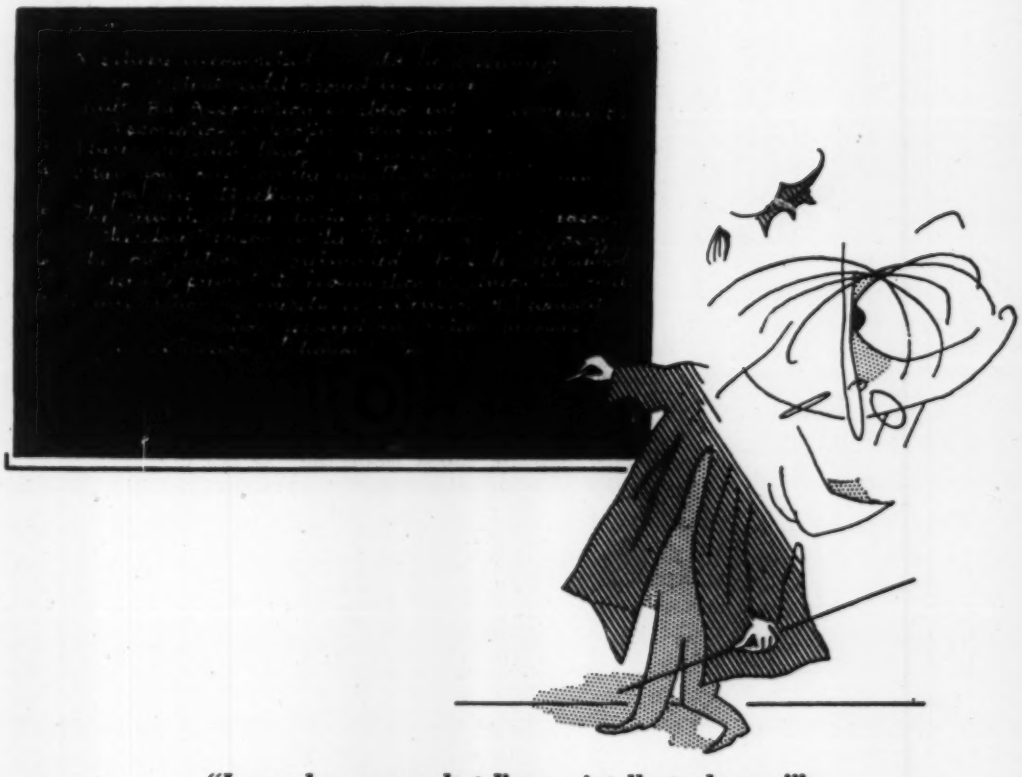
"I demand a closed-open hearing; closed when I take the Fifth Amendment and open when those nasty Senators are rude to me!"

NATIONAL REVIEW is proud to present a first installment of Mr. John D. Kreuttner's graphic reports on the state of the Liberal mind. The subject will be with us for a long time—and so will the artist.

—THE EDITORS

"In repudiating the lessons of history the most important thing we crackpots must bear in mind is that charity begins abroad!"

"I didn't say that I said that I didn't say it. I said that I didn't say that I said it. I want to make that very clear."



"I may be a mess, but I'm an* intellectual *mess!"

Thomas Jefferson vs. Mao

The Chinese Red regime, says the author, fails to meet the three conditions of recognition established by our first Secretary of State

RODNEY GILBERT

In the April issue of the *American Journal of International Law* there is an article by Pitman B. Potter, entitled "Communist China: Recognition and Admission to the UN." Mr. Potter, or Prof. Potter as he may well be, starts off correctly enough—reassuringly, in fact:

"This present writer would freely admit that the older international law concerning recognition was somewhat unsatisfactory on all essential points. In addition it was never codified in any serious sense of the word."

So it was never really a law at all, but just a precedent, or convention, or tradition, or a group of such. Mr. Potter continues:

> It is probably safe to assert that in the old law of recognition actual control of territory and population was a decisive, if not the decisive, factor in determining recognition. It can also be asserted—albeit with a certain amount of cynicism—that recognition did not imply approval or agreement with the system of government existing in a particular state. States or governments recognized or dealt with one another for practical rather than moral or ideological reasons.

Certain it is that in Europe and elsewhere such a convention or tradition (there being no codified law, established by international treaties or in any other way) does persist. For it is to this tradition that Great Britain's apologists, high and low, have been appealing for six and a half years in their efforts to explain how and why their everlastingly opportunistic and amoral Foreign Office rushed to recognize Red China on January 6, 1950. They cannot say, without starting ructions here that would be of no help to them, that they were encouraged to take that foolish step (by which they recognized a government that contemptuously refused to recognize them) by the Truman-Marshall-Acheson policy group. So all they can do is cry plaintively, over and over again, that "recognition does not imply approval."

It so happens, however, that whatever the European tradition may be, and however handy this may be to the sleazy opportunists of Downing Street, this has *not* been the American tradition during the past century and a half or more. The repudiation of that European tradition came during the first Administration of George Washington, when Thomas Jefferson was Secretary of State, and when principles of recognition were established that continue to be thoroughly congenial to the American people.

Jefferson on Recognition

Nose into any book on the foreign relations of the United States, written before Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized Soviet Russia, and you will find Jefferson credited with having established two conditions to recognition, which this country has followed ever since with various wobblings and deviations.

First of all, Jefferson was insistent on the right of any nation to set up any kind of government that took its fancy—monarchical, despotic, republican, democratic, or whatever one's imagination suggests. Over and over again Jefferson, with the approval of Washington and other Founding Fathers, insisted that the machinery of government in a state with which we were considering relations was none of our business—no more than the machinery of government in our young Republic was the business of any nation that wanted to enter into friendly diplomatic and trade relations with us.

But that is where the Jeffersonian indifference to the character of a government to be recognized comes to an abrupt end. All the books tell us that there were two Jeffersonian conditions to recognition which have become traditionally American. The government under consideration must 1) show that it has the power and authority to discharge its international obligations in accordance with conventional civilized standards, and 2) demonstrate its willingness and readiness to discharge its obligations in accordance with generally accepted standards. (Jefferson put heavy emphasis on a third condition which is almost never quoted by the pundits. But of that more later.)

Red China's present ability to meet any demand upon the Mao regime—for the moment at least—is well enough established. But Red China's readiness to abide by common standards of decency and good faith in any kind of relation, political or commercial, has been so far from satisfactory that no apology for it is worth putting into words. All that Red China's friends can do is say: "Sad, very sad; but nevertheless . . ." and so let their voices peter out into incoherent mumbles.

Certainly, in the sight of the American people (whose fixed opinion President Eisenhower quoted to the Canadian Premier and the Mexican President as a sufficient reason why this country could not contemplate the recognition of Red China), that regime is a pariah, no matter what degree of control the Soviet gang in Peiping has clamped upon the Chinese people. Lots of our people know, and the rest feel, that the Peiping regime is not prepared to discharge its obligations under any civilized system of international relations. It glories in its violations of all decencies; and when it invites recognition, it invites us to admit that recognition is purely amoral and purely expedient.

It does so happen, however, that Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State under George Washington, and with Washington's constant approval, did establish another condition to

recognition. To put it briefly, Jefferson thought that the government to be recognized should be one established *with the consent of the people.* If there were sufficient evidence to show that the people of a foreign state wanted a despotism, then we should do business with that despotism—if it were ready to do business with us in a civilized way. But before extending recognition to any foreign government, we should want to see that it had the support of the people.

Let's quote a little of the Jeffersonian precedent:

To Gouverneur Morris, November, 1792: "With what kind of government in France may you do business? It accords with our principles to acknowledge any government to be rightful which is formed by the will of the nation substantially declared."

In a letter to Thomas Pinckney, written a month later, Jefferson remarked that whether a foreign government chose to deal with us through a "king, convention, assembly, committee, president, or whatever it be" was none of our business; but that "the only thing essential is the will of the nation. Taking this as your polar star, you can hardly err."

No "Will of the People"

If this condition to recognition, most emphatically stated by the first man to have charge of U.S. foreign relations, were still regarded as an inviolable precedent, we should now have no relations with any of the Red despotisms: none of them exists by virtue of the "substantially declared" will of the people. The Communist regime in Russia, with which Franklin D. Roosevelt established supposedly friendly relations, came to power by overthrowing with force and violence a government that functioned with the approval of a newly elected Constituent Assembly. And since 1917, no Red despotism, from Albania to North Korea, has ever dared to risk a free expression of the popular will. Yet we do continue to recognize Soviet Russia, not only despite the lack of the "substantially declared" approval of the Russian and other peoples within the USSR, but also despite the Kremlin's failure to meet Jefferson's second condition—a readiness to discharge international obligations in good faith and according to civilized standards. (Only recently Mr. Truman tossed off the impromptu remark that he didn't trust the Soviet Government because it had been guilty of thirty-some breaches of faith during his first year in the White House!)

That leaves the Soviet Union and its satellites qualified for recognition in just one respect—their control of land and people and their consequent ability to discharge obligations. But this, according to Pitman D. Potter, is that ancient condition to recognition which has come to be disturbingly inadequate. Not much later, however, he writes:

"It hardly appears possible to envisage an indefinite tenure of Chiang or his son on Formosa, much less his return to the mainland."

Nobody, of course, expects Chiang Kai-shek to live forever, and nobody thinks that he needs to outlive the Mao dictatorship. Mr. Potter's reference to "the son" is a giveaway. That is a nearly direct quotation of the gossip that has been circulating among the Hong Kong Club's bar-flies since the early spring of 1950. The Chinese "Third Force" operators in the Crown Colony, who started that line of talk about Chiang and his Russian-educated, totalitarian-minded son in the hope of coaxing boodle out of the Truman-Marshall-Acheson Administration, are either dead or living on charity. But it is still "the line" in the Hong Kong Club. Every British correspondent who gets that far east soaks it up and takes it back to Downing Street, whence it is passed along to the State Department and so, "off the record," to Liberal columnists.

All of us who have been in China since the revolution of 1911-12 have seen deeply entrenched and handsomely armed absolutism blow sky-high, in a matter of hours, again and again. Think of the confidence which Occidental diplomacy reposed in the Manchus, in Yuan Shih-kai, in Chang Tso-lin, in Wu Pei-fu and, for brief spells, in Dr. Sun Yat-sen; and then finally in Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself. Nobody who has been through all those illusions and disillusions, built up in majesty and collapsing in something close to slapstick, can be easily persuaded that the great Mao despotism may not go up in a puff of smoke tomorrow.

A Dialectical Syllogism

Major Premise: All true Stalinists obey the commands of Moscow.

Minor Premise: The command of Moscow is to be anti-Stalin.

Conclusion: Therefore, all true Stalinists are anti-Stalin.

U. S. "Dignity"

"The opposition to substituting Communist China for Nationalist China on the Security Council would be insurmountable," says Mr. Potter. It is to be most piously hoped that he is right; for, if he isn't, the movement of the fragments of the UN to Geneva will waste useful shipping; the business of making profitable use of that big building on New York's East River will involve some very fancy litigation; and the salt tears of the World Government boys and girls will ruin much American plowland.

"It would not appear that the U.S. should or could take a position other than the frankly temporizing one which—without great happiness or dignity, be it frankly admitted—she is taking now," writes Mr. Potter, before concluding that "the art of politics, especially international politics, consists of choosing between or among various different evils."

Now be it understood that Mr. Potter is talking about the recognition of Red China by the United States, and about Red China's admission to the United Nations. Yet he says that the present American opposition to both puts the United States in a position in which Mr. Potter feels neither happy nor dignified.

This attitude, it seems to me, is something that we must be on the alert to detect in Congress immediately after the elections, no matter how they come out. We must spot those who share the British and the neutralist unhappiness about our opposition to Red China's admission to the UN and who deplore our failure to share the "dignity" enjoyed by Great Britain as a result of its recognition of Red China.

ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

The Arrogant and the Ugly

For years I've been puzzled by the term "adult film." The Progressive critics of America deem that accolade a considerable notch above an Oscar. They award it most gingerly, and almost never to a domestic film. Yet nobody has ever told us what it is that makes a film "adult." And I, for one, was uncertain for years, but I am no longer. Having seen the most recent entry, *The Proud and the Beautiful* (a French production, of course, based on a story by, of course, Jean-Paul Sartre), I know: What makes a movie "adult" is a cameraman who can focus on cockroaches and a scriptwriter who uses words which, customarily, are chalked by nasty little boys on nasty drab walls.

Why this should be so, is anybody's guess. One would assume that the mark of adulthood is, on the contrary, the grace with which a person can finally liquidate the obnoxious embarrassments of pre-adolescence; and that, consequently, an adult film treats cockroaches as irrelevant vermin (not as the mystical symbols of ugly doom that they sometimes are in pre-adolescent shivers) and sex as the self-understood assertion of a happy vitality (not as a pre-adolescent obsession with ugly thrills and cruel kicks). A rational respect for language would instruct the critics to call those notorious *avant-garde* films childish—not necessarily artless, because some of them throb with sensitivity (as some children do), but childish. Yet the Progressive critics, who monopolize the metropolitan press, are not rational. Nor is their verbiage rational. It is fetishistic.

In primitive ("savage") societies, certain words are charged with magic faculties. Those words, in such fetishistic civilizations, have a special power—a power that has no relation at all to their original meaning. Now, our Liberal society shows, without any doubt, many characteristics of tribal primitiveness, and in no respect more conspicuously so than in the socially approved use of words. Our shamans are the Walter Lippmanns and Brooks Atkinsons and all those other penny-pundits who brew the potions, throw the whammies and, in general, attend to the magic rituals of articulation.

The Liberal movie critics, in particular, operate with a strictly formalized set of fetishistic formulas—partly because they must develop a system of fast signals for their audience ("see this, don't see another and boycott a third picture"), partly because the poor wretches feel themselves at the bottom of the critical hierarchy; and so they must, from time to time, just to keep their self-respect, show off their true sophistication. In the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times,* at any rate, the Bosley Crowthers and William K. Zinssers can get away with esoteric weirdies their senior colleagues would not dare plant in the loftier theater departments. And their magic phrase is, more often than not, "adult film."

"Adult film" seems to be a generic term for movies that deal with dope, the nastier forms of perversion, sophomoric gloom, adolescent *Weltschmerz,* common bastardy, plain filth, juvenile sultriness and (I can't repeat it too often) cockroaches. Which gets me, without further transition, to M. Sartre's *The Proud and the Beautiful.* I had read absolutely orgiastic reviews of that creation in the *Herald Tribune* and the *Times* and so I should have known what to expect. But, though I had kept track of Messrs. Crowther and Zinsser, I had forgotten what a brat M. Sartre can be.

Jean-Paul Sartre's story is what the existentialist brotherhood means by stark realism. On a pleasure trip to Mexico, a Parisian catches meningitis, and dies in an outlandishly filthy Mexican village; whereupon his elegant widow tries to escape the heat, robbers, rapers, epidemics and, of course, cockroaches, is repulsively fascinated with an outlandishly filthy former French doctor and finally decides to stay with him, and the cockroaches, rather than return to Paris. This, as any fool can plainly see, is just a realistic slice of normal life. Personally, I'd like to add that I found the cockroaches only slightly more revolting than the doctor; and, therefore, I had some difficulties in comprehending why Mademoiselle Michele Morgan got hysterics when she saw the vermin but fell for the revolting bum like a wall of worm-eaten bricks. But then, I am no existentialist. Besides, the bum is played by M. Gerard Philippe, a Gallic version of Gregory Peck. So there.

What made me really mad was the intellectual cheapness and dishonesty of the whole performance. In the first place, knowing full well on which side their films are buttered, Messrs. Sartre and Yves Allegret (the director) exempted all close-ups of semi-nude Mademoiselle Morgan and her lingerie from the existentialist vow of repulsive ugliness; rather, these shots are just as perfumed and *piquante* as the most alluring scenes in *La Ronde.* In short, the existentialist Pollyannas of despair evidently can be bribed into admitting that there *is* delight. I resent that.

Secondly, anyone who still has doubts about M. Jean-Paul Sartre's worthiness had better go and see this film. And the vulgar excuse that a great philosopher must be neither blamed for, nor judged by, an incursion into commercialism won't hold water. Only a year ago, M. Sartre obtained an injunction against a most profitable revival of his *Mains Sales* in Vienna, just because he was afraid that this old and slightly anti-Communist play might damage his growing reputation in Moscow. No, when it comes to matters M. Sartre considers intellectually and spiritually relevant, he does not allow money to interfere with his ideals. He is indeed what he calls "a committed writer"—and he is decidedly committed by *The Proud and the Beautiful.*

I recommend this film to all students of existentialism, and I would make it must-seeing at Harvard where, I hear, one cannot graduate these days in philosophy without evidence of intimacy with M. Sartre. If it does not show the "absurdity" of existence and creation, *The Proud and the Beautiful* at least demonstrates the absurdity of those incorrigible yokels, New York's certified intellectuals, who will fall every time for a gamey European *bêtise.*

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Sunday-Supplement Moralist

FRANK S. MEYER

There is, I believe, even a point of law (there is certainly a counsel of decency) which prohibits the use of the American flag as a come-on in the advertising of a commercial product. The consideration of decency would seem to demand even more strongly that a political product should not be touted, a politician's derelictions hidden or his achievements hallowed, by a similar use of religion.

I know it is a common practice in many states and cities to balance political tickets carefully with the right number of Protestants, Catholics and Jews; but when this is done, it is done with a certain decorum. The implied appeal to voters of one or another religious community is there, but it is not blatant. In fact, it is not even implied that the candidate concerned is a particularly sacrosanct representative of the community. An appeal is simply being made, on grounds of common interest and background, to those of the same faith, to supplement the general appeal to the voters at large.

When, however, a second-rate Midwestern politician, oddly raised to the federal Judiciary by a President of the opposite party, puts forward his second-rate Liberal sentiments as the quintessence of Christianity, it is an act of second-rate *hubris*. And second-rate *hubris* is not even pathetic. It is simply sickening. The biography of a man with such pretensions (*A Christian In Politics: Luther W. Youngdahl*, by Robert Esbjornson. T. S. Denison & Co., $3.50) is, as might be expected, appropriately emetic.

Copiously illustrated with photographs of Youngdahl, interviewing delegations, patting Boy Scouts on the head, indulging in various wholesome activities with his family, it is replete with "documentation," including the full text of his prize-winning college oration delivered on May 2, 1919, and all of the great man's inaugural addresses as Governor of Minnesota. It comes to a resounding climax in a chapter which reads like something out of *Ordeal by Slander* and devotes itself to glorifying Judge Youngdahl's heroic role in the Lattimore case. Interestingly, the epigraph of that chapter chronicling the height of the career of "a Christian in politics" is a quotation from the *New Republic*: "Luther Youngdahl, practicing constitutionalist and Christian, fierce defender of the rights of heretics, sat firm upon the bench and fought off a berserk attack upon the integrity of our judicial system."

This searing encounter with the forces of Satan and Senator McCarthy is apparently proof final of the stalwart virtue of this valiant Christian. But the earlier stages in this pilgrim's progress have had their more modest triumphs. He learned young to eschew tobacco and alcohol and to condemn strong language; single-handed, he slew all the slot-machines in the state of Minnesota. Other like achievements are recorded. But his greatest earlier feat seems to have been his conquest, though a Republican, of the right to wear the armor of Liberalism and the sword of humanitarianism. And though fated by destiny to be a Republican, he was able, talismanically, to repeat at proper public ceremonies the words of F.D.R.

It is indeed a progress, but one may wonder what it has to do with Christianity. Coming from an undistinguished environment, through prize oratory and an undistinguished Midwestern sectarian college, to municipal judge and thence, via state politics, to the governorship of Minnesota and the federal bench, his progress seems at every point, despite the anti-liquor and anti-gambling pietism and the Sunday-supplement moralism, to have been based upon the service of the twentieth-century Mammon—not wealth and greed for wealth, but power and greed for power, which are the reality behind the humanitarian trappings of the welfare state.

I would not presume to say what it is to be "a Christian in politics." A Christian faith affects a person's every act. It gives him a very definite understanding of man and his fate; but it cannot, I think, except insofar as it influences his being and his goodness, solve political problems or dictate political theory. The political sphere demands the use of reason and intelligence directed to its own level and its own problems. To the solution of those problems the man of spiritual depth will bring unambiguous motivation and an understanding of the conditions proper to man's life, which politics should subserve. But, while it would be both presumptuous and in essence the negation of Christianity to lay down a picture of what "the Christian in politics" would be, one can, I think, without presumption say one or two things about what he would *not* be.

He would not pharisaically proclaim his Christianity—with the view to shielding his political activities and principles from discussion and criticism on the political level; and certainly he would not serve the Mammon of the day.

None of this is to cast doubt in any way upon the personal religious sincerity of Judge Youngdahl. It is not his private self, but his public figure,

put forward as the image of "A Christian in Politics"—an image which turns out to coincide at point after point with the image of the Liberal in Politics—which I am calling in question. For that image is a sham, and a particularly vicious sham in that it is used as trading capital in the market place of politics.

It is all made quite clear in a quotation from the *Minneapolis Star*, which decorates the jacket of the book: " . . . his strong religious convictions have been an unbeatable asset among church-going Minnesotans . . . his political foes . . . found—when they tangled with Youngdahl—that the voters looked upon their efforts as reflections not against Youngdahl but against religious convictions."

Overcoats for Bulls

Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology, by Pitirim A. Sorokin. 357 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. $10.00

"Who reads Sorokin?" Thus did the reviewer of an earlier work raise a question which, in a wider sense, is the implicit theme of this latest book by the most erudite of sociologists.

More immediately, *Fads and Foibles* is a devastating demonstration of the intellectual sterility that characterizes much current research in sociology and allied sciences. As he patiently deciphers the "obtuse jargon" of the "Quantophrenics" (once described as those social scientists who attempt to measure the yards of buttermilk needed to make an overcoat for a bull), Sorokin also reveals the age-old sources of the modern social science preoccupation with number-juggling.

Tempered but not blunted by sympathy, the plea which underlies this critique of modern social science methodology is also to be found in Sorokin's earlier (1928) *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, and in this reviewer's more recent *Social Problems and Scientism*. Beneath these and other sometimes sharp criticisms is an appeal to social scientists to devote more effort to becoming the intellectuals they purport to be; that they study, and profit by, the history and philosophy of the science which they now use more often as a shield against criticism than as a fitting garment.

Else, among the generation of students now being inoculated against erudition by the type of behavioral research that Sorokin calls "quantophrenia" and I have called "the comptometer compulsion," the question "Who reads Sorokin?" may become "Who reads?" A. H. HOBBS

The Great Refusal

Ring Lardner, by Donald Elder. 409 pp. New York: Doubleday & Company $4.75

Over and over, in this exceptionally candid first biography of Ring Lardner, Donald Elder makes the same point: "He kept on pretending . . . that he was not a serious writer, although he knew he was."

In whatever he wrote, his most persistent strategy was to keep clear of himself; never to be committed, personal, or exposed in any way. Hence he adopted his famous "hick" dialect, which however resourcefully handled, was just a disguise to mask the intelligent, sensitive man he really was. To the same end, he used a prophylactic satire against any subject, from his children to baseball, which moved him deeply.

His best-known book, *You Know Me Al*, brought baseball into the precincts of American literature, and I think it will be for this that any future readers will remember him. He wrote with enormous knowledge, and certainly with a real passion for the game itself. But he always approached the players, the human beings involved, with satire and dialect, never giving himself *to* them, never writing about them in their fierce heroic entirety — as, say, Mark Twain, who could describe the grandeur as well as the chicanery and brutality of his Mississippi River people in *Huck Finn*, would have.

One of Lardner's best friends was Scott Fitzgerald, who repeatedly urged him to get inside himself, and write from down under and out of what he truly felt. That he had the potential of another Twain, and that the truth inside him needed more than bantering newspaper columns and comic strips to release itself, was unquestionable to anyone who knew him personally. It was not merely preposterous for T. S. Matthews to compare certain aspects of his writing, as he once did, with that of Shakespeare and Chekhov.

But Ring Lardner made the great refusal. He never let himself go. He worked hard, and produced millions of words, but only from that saucy, safe corner of himself which he maintained for that purpose, and to which the rest of him had no entry. Otherwise, he drank intensively; wrote the sort of letters, even to his family, which are heartbreakingly brittle, cute and self-preserving; and manifested that preoccupation with other people's problems to which self-suppressed people are curiously prone and which a friend of mine once aptly called "pathologically kind." At forty-eight, he died.

We frequently pity the man, whatever he does, who gives everything to his work, and whose life seems wretched, lonely, floundering and unfulfilled. But a man like Ring Lardner, who "did not believe in the value of his own work and . . . remained silent about the things that concerned him most deeply," is someone we should pity even more. To have been called, in any capacity; and to have refused, for whatever reason — isn't this the saddest thing a man can do with his life upon the earth?

ROGER BECKET

Calling All Congressmen!

John's First Job and **A Farm and a Family,** by the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. 16 pp. Washington: Govt. Prtg. Ofc. "Free."

The first print order for this double comic book is *one million copies*, and doesn't that give Dick Tracy and Superman something to shoot at!

The hero, John, is a husky, good-looking six-footer, a first baseman type who won two team letters in high school. Yet a sober-minded lad, for as he graduates he says, "Ever since Dad died I've waited for the day when I could make things easier for Mom. Her savings must be pretty well used up by now." John asks his former faculty adviser how to go about finding a job.

Of course, cold black type can't give

the full flavor; that calls for flashy, four-color drawings and balloons full of dialogue. But try to feel the drama of it! Here is this fine, sturdy American boy who wants to take care of his widowed mother, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the great Government of the United States (through Mr. Collins, the faculty adviser) will tell him what to do!

Well, the *first* thing to do—the *very* first—says H. E. & W., is to get a social security number. And after that?

The suspense builds up fast! There are so many things self-reliant young fellows have done in the past. Some looked up their fathers' employers. Some combed the "Help Wanted" columns. Some went to employment agencies, which are in the business of providing young men with employers and employers with young men. A great many have found work by making the rounds of the hiring offices of local industries. Once in a while a smart youngster starts a business of his own.

Which one, or more, of these courses will the wise H.E.&W. (through Mr. Collins) recommend to our hero? None of 'em, friend. Nary a one. That sort of thing went out with the 100-cent dollar. What H. E. & W. tells John is this: "You might apply to your state employment service for a job."

There we have it—the bureaucrat's ideal of self-sufficiency! Want a job? Don't go scrounging for it yourself. Ask the government to get it for you. That's what John does, and what do you know! They send him over to Baxter Chemicals and he is on the payroll before you could say H. E. & W.!

That's not all. While John was getting his social security number, he happened to wonder whether his mother ought not to get something for all the taxes his father paid in while he lived. So he asked about it, and "a few weeks later" Mom gets a letter awarding her $50 a month. The book does not mention that when John is 18 years old, the $50 will stop and Mom will have to fall back on her savings and John's wages until she turns 65. So the story ends happily; Mom says she can't believe it, and John says social security is wonderful.

Space is wanting here for a full treatment of the second story, "A Farm and a Family," which tells how Tom got to engineering school, how Bob and Alice and the kids moved to the country, and how Dad and Mom quit farming and went to the city for a week's vacation. To read all about these wonderful events, and how H. E. & W. brought them to pass, you will have to go to a Social Security Office and pick up a copy. (Don't be bashful; *your* taxes paid for it.)

Secretary Folsom and his department were authorized by the Congress to use public funds to inform the public about the social security program. Does the drivel described above accomplish this purpose? Are these drooling half-truths consonant with the dignity of this government? Had Folsom a right to put out this barefaced socialist propaganda with tax money wrung out of the wages of working people? You may wonder about these questions. If so, why not ask your Congressman? I hope you will.

DILLARD STOKES

The Ford Varieties

Perspectives USA. Published quarterly by Intercultural Publications, Inc., New York. Annual subscription: $5.00

We have just found time to examine two issues (Nos. 12 and 13) of the Ford Foundation's quarterly contribution to international misunderstanding, and hasten to report that the journal is just what you would expect a journal with such a title to be. There is little perspective, but plenty of variety. The contents range from an expertly written short story by Robert Penn Warren to reproductions of drawings and paintings which should be of great interest to psychiatrists.

The neatest performance in this variety show may be called the Vanishing Conservative. It is really a variation of an old vaudeville act, the Vanishing Lady, but Professor Hofstadter, who comes to the Ford Circuit direct from a long run in Columbia University, uses sociology instead of mirrors. In the first part of his act the magician, with the assurance of an old hand who knows that jargon is quicker than the eye, makes a few passes to show that conservatives do not represent the "poised and reliable conservatism" of Adlai Stevenson, so they must be called "pseudo-conservatives." As soon as the audience has been lulled by this patter, the Thinker begins his critical manipulation with such an intensity of concentration that you can see the sweat glisten on his brow. Careful investigation, he says, has shown that all the "pseudo-conservatives" are either a) the descendants of persons who came to America before 1881, or b) the descendants of persons who came to America after 1881. The consequence of this hereditary taint is that they all have "status problems," for if they are "Anglo-Saxons," they "are losing caste," and if they are "immigrants," they have a silly urge not only to "be more American than the Rosenbergs," but even to "be more American than Dean Acheson." Obviously if they were not worried about keeping or getting "caste," they would be good little rabbits and keep their eyes on the lettuce provided by their Liberal masters. So, you see, there is no political question after all, but only "status-strivings."

As he turns to leave the stage, the learned prof. throws out the hint that the nasty people who have "bitter feeling against the United Nations" could be put in their place if only we were blessed with an "elite with political and moral *autonomy*," such, I suppose, as Russia enjoys in the Communist Party.

An act with so delightful an ending is sure to make the Liberals scream for encore after encore. Until Professor Hofstadter returns to the stage, the better educated members of the group could, perhaps, assuage their impatience by reading the translations in the French, German and Italian editions simultaneously published at the expense of the Ford Foundation.

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To the Editor

Criticises Book Review

I am distressed to see . . . Miss Freda Utley's laudatory review of Rabbi Elmer Berger's recent book on Israel [June 6]. . . .But my concern is not for Rabbi Berger's book but for the consistency of NATIONAL REVIEW's own policy.

For Americans the question of past justice, as between the sides of this conflict, is not the overriding one. The question is what solution contributes most to the future security of the free world . . .

Here we come to the fact that is seldom noted, but which conditions the entire problem. This is that in the whole Arab world not one free man exists. . . .

The central fact of emergent Arabian nationalism is that the age of industrialism has come to the desert. This means that social transformation is inevitable. The future shape of this society is of utmost importance to American global strategy.

Arabia is at present a complex of tyrannies. Arabian reaction to Israel is the usual reaction of the tyrant to an influence which will disturb his power. The tyrant's concern is not for the few square miles of land scratched from the desert which now comprise the State of Israel. There are millions of square miles left. The tyrant's concern is not that a nation with the population of Colorado will enslave an empire. The tyrant's concern is that Israeli democracy and technology will, by example, topple thrones.

Israel is feared by Arab feudalism because she represents the danger of middle-class capitalistic democracy. In normal relationship with the Arab nations, her standard of living, her vigorous example, would be contagious. She would be the mentor of the fledgling Arab middle class, the guide of industrialism, education, sanitation and better living everywhere.

These things are the prerequisites of freedom. Without them Arabian industrialism, which must come, will take on the alternative form of Communism . . .

Israel is in part a socialistic state today, just as any nation in peril assumes a centralized authority for paramount goals of preservation. But she is the sole reservoir of Western values in the Middle East, and the enterprise of freedom in Arabia has no better champion. That is why American policy should be directed toward the preservation of Israeli sovereignty. . . .

New York City EDWARD CASE

Rabbi Berger Replies

Mr. Case's letter . . . advances an interesting motif for justifying American preferential treatment for Israel as against the other states of the Middle East.

Mr. Case is half right in his analysis. There is an enormous economic, social and national awakening from Casablanca to Pakistan. The problem confronting America and the free world is how to cope with it and overcome the disadvantages of a history of colonialism.

Mr. Case reveals a profound lack of knowledge of the mentality of these revolutions when he argues that we should reconcile the interests of the free world and those of these emergent nations by championing Israel as the exemplar of "Western values" and of the "enterprise of freedom." Until the problem of the nine hundred thousand refugees from "the few square miles of land scratched from the desert" is resolved, neither "Western values" nor the "enterprise of freedom" will be considered as very genuine by the Middle Easterners.

As a matter of cold reality the advantages of the policy of favoritism for Israel are highly dubious in the long run. For above all, to survive as any kind of viable state, Israel needs peace with her neighbors. To have peace, all are agreed Israel must resolve her *political* differences with the Arabs, settle the Palestine problem and become a *Middle Eastern* nation.

No one knows better than the Arabs the technological advantages Israel has to offer the area. Nor is there blanket resistance to progress in the Arab countries. If such were the facts, the thousands of Arab students in the United States and other Western nations—learning how to be teachers, engineers, doctors and social scientists—would be an incomprehensible phenomenon. But to expose the Arab nations to "Western values" by employing Israel as the prize Western guinea pig will create only resistance and perhaps even defection to the Soviets; certainly, at the best, it will produce an unfriendly "neutrality."

Finally, Mr. Case appears to understand neither American policy, my book, nor Miss Utley's review. If the summation of his argument is "the preservation of Israeli sovereignty," he will find few responsible opponents. The whole question is what *kind* of an Israeli sovereignty is to be preserved. A Zionist state, with a Messianic complex toward all Jews in the world? A battering ram of Western values and enterprise, forcing the emergent revolutions of the area into the Israeli pattern? Or a sovereignty embracing one small state in a large and important area of the world; a small state subsidized by the West which has made great technological advances and which now is prepared to share those advantages with the other peoples of the area?

New York City RABBI ELMER BERGER

Union Attorney Objects

As the attorney for Local 138 of the International Union of Operating Engineers, I must object to your editorial, "The Criminal as Judge," in the issue of May 2.

You wrote: "It all began when Peter Batalias spoke up at a meeting of Local 138 against the better judgment of William C. De Koning, Jr., who—though convicted of extortion in 1954—is President and Business Manager of the Local. Batalias was so viciously beaten at the meeting that he had to be taken to the hospital."

This incident happened in January 1955, at which time Mr. De Koning, Jr., who had not yet been elected President or Business Manager, was miles away in another state. I might say also that William De Koning, Jr., pled guilty to coercion, a misdemeanor, not extortion—in spite of newspaper reports to the contrary.

Peter Batalias was forcibly ejected from the meeting when he refused to sit down after having been repeat-

edly ruled out of order, but he was not beaten. The doctor at Meadowbrook Hospital said that "there were no objective signs of any injury" and asked him to leave the hospital.

Mineola, N.Y. JAMES G. BLAKE

The data on the basis of which NATIONAL REVIEW wrote the editorial in question were supplied by Mr. William Keating, attorney for Mr. Batalias. On receipt of Mr. Blake's letter, we invited Mr. Keating to comment on it. He has not replied.—THE EDITORS

NATIONAL TRENDS

(*Continued from p. 7*)

sooner rather than later, by the presence of a couple of elimination-minded Republican judges on the bench. This notwithstanding Mr. Rovere's quaint judgment that Mr. Eisenhower's Supreme Court appointments "have been the major contribution toward . . . [rebuilding] American conservatism into a viable political instrument"!

The other affected institution is, of course, the Republican Party. Here the impact of the Eisenhower Administration has been direct and demonstrable. As an available political vehicle for restoring a free economy to America, the Republican Party has been put out of business.

To be sure, neither Mr. Rovere nor any other Liberal publicist worth his salt comes right out and says so—not at this stage of the game. Such taunts, especially if they should be taken up by the Machine's auxiliaries at the daily newspaper level, could conceivably bestir some disheartened Republican into giving the business another try. The demise of Republicanism is, in other words, still a sore point with many Republicans; Mr. Rovere, by tacit example, warns against pouring vinegar into the wound—until Mr. Eisenhower has been assured of another term.

To be sure, Mr. Rovere does not consider Eisenhower's domestic record sufficient reason, in and of itself, to support him. Any good Liberal knows that the major problems that confronted Mr. Eisenhower in 1953 were McCarthyism and foreign policy; it is in these areas, as we shall see next week, that the boy grew up to be a man.

6 of ONE

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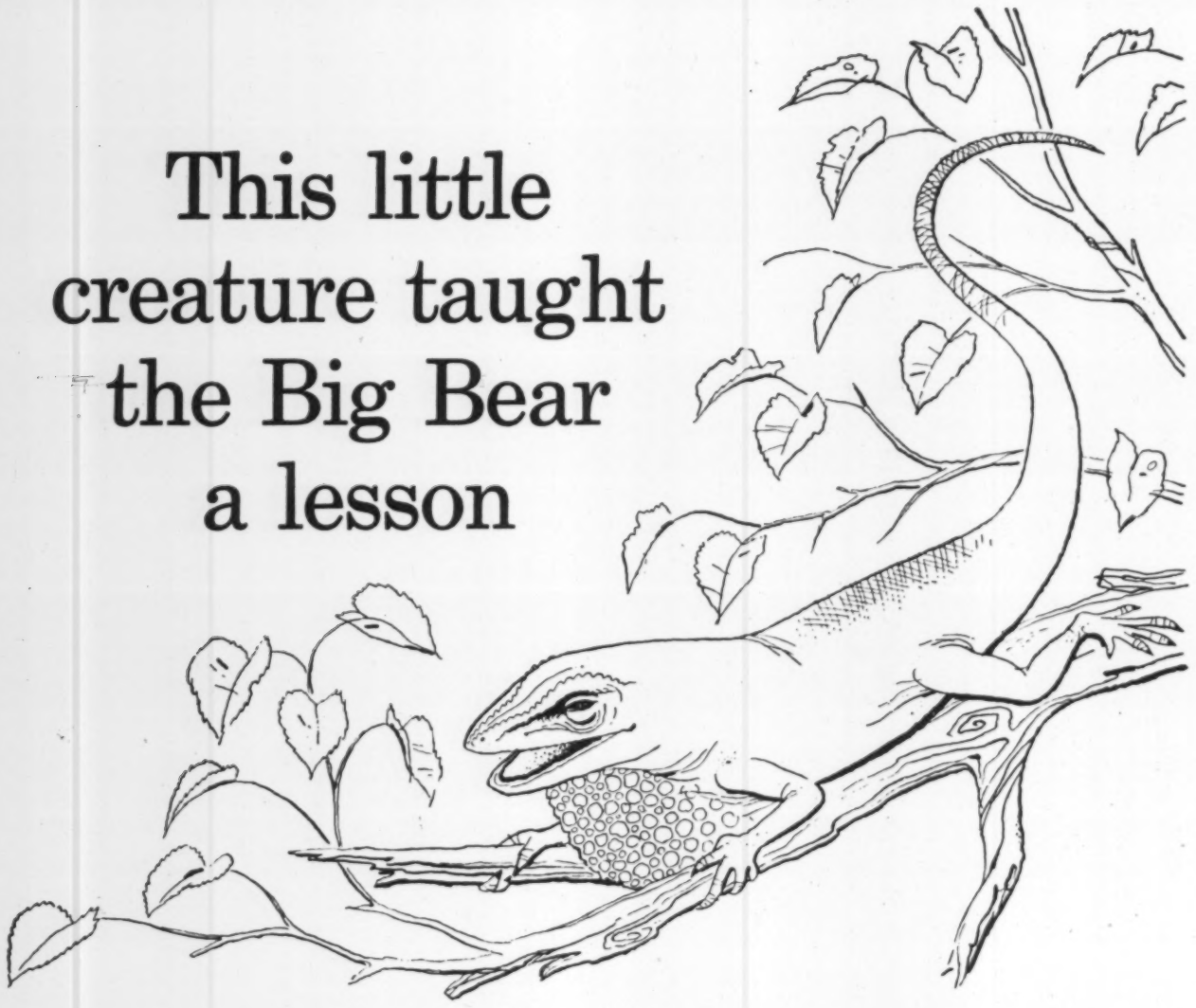
7314 ZIMPEL ST. **NEW ORLEANS, LA.**

This little creature taught the Big Bear a lesson



ONCE upon a time, a big bear lumbered into a forest clearing and plumped himself down on a log.

"Clumsy fool!" squeeked a voice. "Watch where you sit!"

"Beg your pardon," apologized the bear. "I didn't see you."

"Of course you didn't," snapped the wee voice. "And if you remove yourself from my tail, I'll show you why."

With that, a little brown lizard leaped from the log and landed on a rock. In a twinkling, he turned grey. Next he slithered onto a Juniper leaf. There he became green.

"Most remarkable trick," rumbled the bear. "Who are you?"

"I'm Charlie Chameleon," piped the lizard. "Who are you?"

"Ivan the Bear. And thanks for the lesson."

Fantasy, to be sure. But the Russian Bear uses the chameleon's trick. Communists look and act and talk just like ordinary people. It makes their task of infiltrating democratic governments that much easier.

How can we in America keep Communists out of our national and local governments? The answer is so simple we often ignore it.

We can keep Communists out of positions of trust simply by being in those positions of trust ourselves—or by making sure the right people are there representing us. It means keeping informed on political issues, voting intelligently, keeping an eye on public officials after elections. And it means taking an active interest in politics, our unions, our schools and churches—wherever Communists could harm us if they were there instead.

It's work, no two ways about it. But it's a job the Communists will gladly do for us if we don't do it ourselves.

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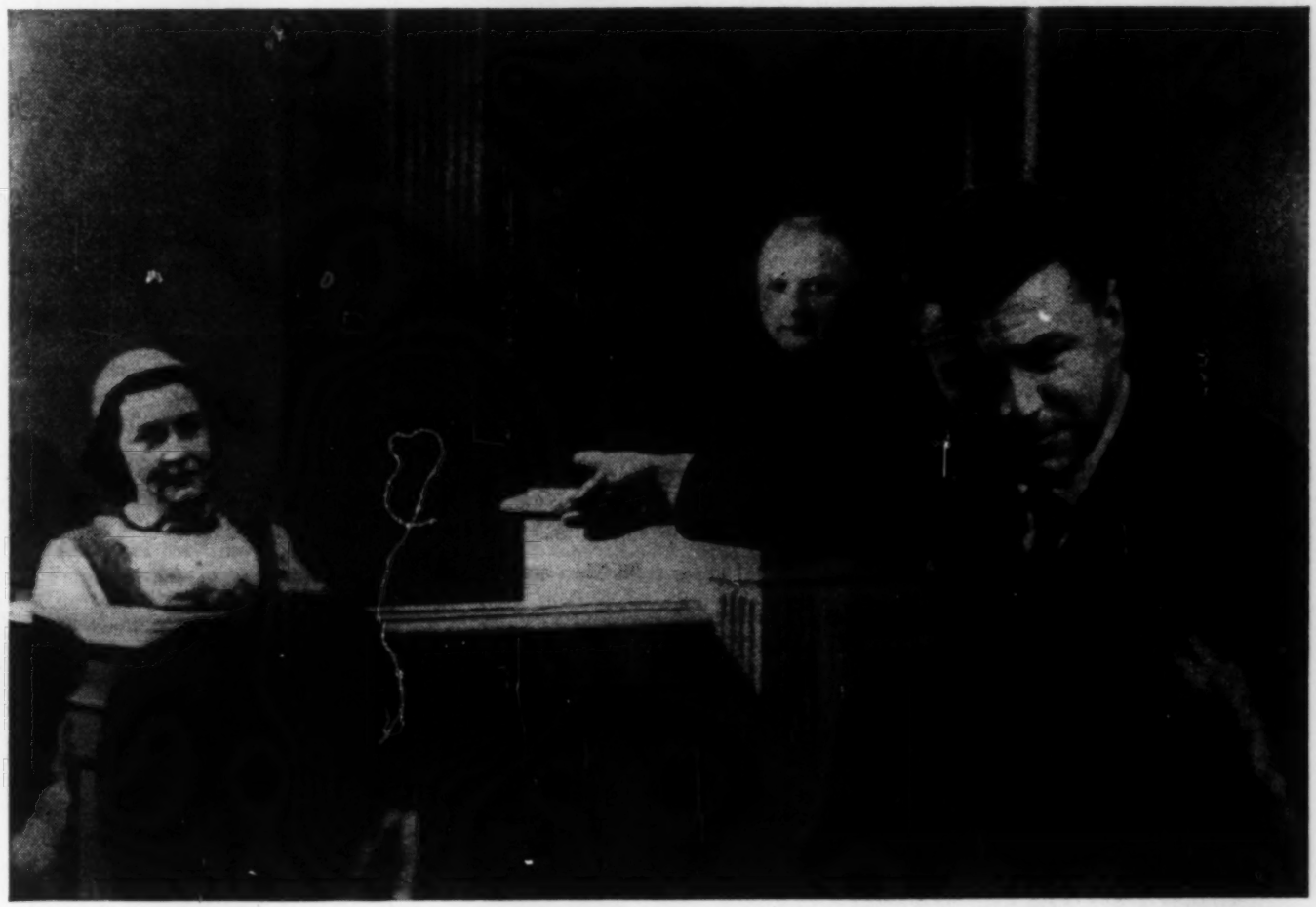

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